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Shamans, Prophets, Priests, and Pastors

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In his book on Bororo cosmology, Crocker writes that "one of the characteristics of Amerindian shamanism is the surreal movement between 'high' and 'low' domains that contain antithetical cosmological principles. The idiosyncrasy of the Bororo consists in dividing capacity for this mediation between two agents" (1985:313). In this chapter, I will show that dual shamanism is more widespread than Crocker imagines and that it can be used to illuminate some differences in shamanic phenomena and social organization between various Amazonian societies and some of the processes of historical change that have taken place within them. I draw on comparative material but base my argument on data from northwest Amazonia. I will also attempt a more satisfactory integration of this material with accounts of various millenarian movements. It has long been recognized that the messiahs who lead these movements were shamans. However, accounts of Tukanoan shamanism sometimes treat these movements as if they were rather localized and temporary aberrations on an otherwise tranquil scheme of traditional practice and belief. I present new data on these movements that shows that their impact was more widespread, more fundamental, and more long lasting than is often supposed.

Amazonian shamanism can be roughly divided between two ideal

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types that I will call vertical shamanism (VS) and horizontal shamanism (HS). Though all forms of shamanism combine knowledge with inspiration, in VS the predominant component is esoteric knowledge transmitted within a small elite, while in HS the emphasis is more democratic, depends less on "saying" than on "doing," and involves the more classic shamanistic features of trance and possession.

In many Amazonian societies, HS occurs on its own. It appears to be associated with more egalitarian, forest-oriented societies with an ideological emphasis on warfare and hunting. Secular power is often separated from sacred power, and shamans are morally ambiguous and may have relatively low status and prestige. Shamanism is individualistic, open to all adult men, frequently involves widespread and relatively free use of hallucinogenic substances, and is only peripherally involved in the ritual reproduction of society. Mythology is also relatively unelaborated, and myths are often subject to idiosyncratic elaboration by different tellers. As examples, I have in mind such societies as the Yanomamo and Achuar.

In a few cases, notably the Bororo and the Arawakan and Tukanoan groups in northwest Amazonia, HS occurs together with VS. Sometimes a single person combines aspects of both types; sometimes they are divided between different individuals. VS appears to be associated with more complex, ranked societies, often characterized by an Amazonian version of descent, and with less emphasis on warfare and hunting. Secular and ritual powers are often merged and limited to a few powerful men, often shamans of the VS type, who are morally unambiguous, enjoy high prestige and status, and play a key role in social reproduction through elaborate ancestor-oriented life crisis rituals involving bullroarers or sacred flutes and trumpets. Their knowledge is relatively closed and is founded on an elaborate, dogmatic mythological cannon. No trance or possession is involved, and where hallucinogens are used, the shamans typically give them to others rather than using them themselves. Although the evidence is admittedly thin, it is enough to suggest that where VS and HS coexist, the relationship between them is not simply the complementarity that Crocker describes. It also appears to contain an element of contradiction and political tension that is interwoven with more complementary, abstract cosmological principles.

The historical situation of interethnic contact, a complex and shifting ground of alliance and conflict within and between different

segments of white and Indian society, creates tension and contradictions. Certain features of the northwest Amazonian crisis cults can be seen as one more visible (and thus documented) manifestation of a working out of these contradictions, an ongoing process involving an intellectual effort to interpret and accommodate competing claims and ideas and a practical effort to readjust politico-economic relations. The thesis of Wright and Hill that such movements represent "a reorientation of social and economic relations in which the refusal to co-operate with the external, dominating order of the white people became elevated to the status of a sacred cosmological postulate" (1986:51) is attractive both for its truth and its liberal sentiments. Nonetheless, the argument is still phrased in terms of two blocs, white people and Indians, pitted against each other, and it fails to take into account the internal divisions and tensions within white and Indian society and the external ambiguities of simultaneous antagonism and alliance, autonomy and dependence, between these two blocs considered as wholes. Of particular concern is the status of the *caboclos* of mixed white and Indian descent. Some messiahs came from among this sector, and historical records show caboclos vacillating between support for Indian messiahs and support for colonial authorities. Some dynamics of these contradictions can be glimpsed in the details of the movements, in the subsequent history of the groups involved, and in their contemporary beliefs.

The cults themselves, which grew up toward the end of the last century, were related to Catholic missionary activity. They principally involved shamanism of the HS type, sometimes in combination with VS. At times they were opposed by secular political leaders and by shamans of the VS type. Today, among the Arawakan-speaking peoples to the north of the Vaupés, where Protestant missionaries have broken the Catholic hegemony, VS and HS coexist and messianism is a living force. In the Tukanoan-speaking Vaupés area, still dominated by Catholic missionaries, shamans of the HS type have all but disappeared, leaving only VS shamans who have taken on some of the roles and attributes of HS.[1]

Though my division between two manifestations of shamanism

1. Among the Bororo, the opposite has happened: *aroe*-shamanism of the VS type has disappeared while *bope*-shamanism of the HS type persists. In a general fashion, Crocker (1985) relates this change to the impact of Brazilian society but does not consider the specific role of the Salesian missionaries in this process.

has received concrete expression in two different roles, one of which has now virtually disappeared, my aim is neither to reify such distinctions nor to produce a synchronic typology. My concern is rather to explore the relation and dynamic interplay between two principles or modes, in this case manifest in shamanism, that receive expression in the synthesis of sameness and difference, inside and out, kin and affine, alliance and descent, endogamy and exogamy, and vertical and horizontal that is typical of Amazonian societies (see Overing 1983–84).

Dual Shamanism

Shamanism is like acting or playing music—received knowledge and training combined with originality, skill, and performance. To know what you are saying and doing, you must learn from others, but to be any good, you must add something of yourself. Within shamanism, these two aspects—power and knowledge, achievement and ascription—call to mind the traditional distinction between the shaman and the priest. The shaman derives his powers from direct contact with spirits through possession and trance; he is a part-time specialist who acts alone and concentrates his efforts on curing. The priest earns his credentials through specialized training; he is a full-time specialist working for the community, a member of an organization who officiates at regular, collective ceremonies as a ritual specialist (see Turner 1972). Though traditionally associated with different social types, such formal distinctions correspond with my own distinction between VS and HS and with certain indigenous categorizations of shamanic phenomena and roles.

Duality connected with shamanism has been widely reported from different parts of Amazonia. Perhaps the most common is the ambivalent nature of the shaman himself—shamans may use their powers for good or ill. This ambivalence has been described either as sociopolitical—shamans should kill their enemies in other groups and cure their friends in their own group—or as the product of apprenticeship—shamans who master their emotions and aggressive desires use their powers to cure, and others who fail to exercise self-control become sorcerers. In relation to the Tukanoan Desana, Buchillet (1990) proposes a third intepretation for this ambivalence, namely, that it obeys the internal logic of the construction of shamanic

knowledge in which the ability to cure and the ability to kill appear as inseparable and complementary elaborations of mythic speech distinguished by their rhetorical construction and symbolic conditions of use. A second kind of distinction, involving relative degrees of knowledge and power, can be used to rank shamans in a formal or informal hierarchy. In these cases, increasing power often goes hand in hand with increasing ambivalence—more powerful shamans may be better curers and also potentially more dangerous than their lesser counterparts.

A further set of distinctions are based on the different activities, functions, spheres of competence, and sources of power that are ascribed to different shamans and to dualistic cosmological principles to which they relate. Here we find the division into distinct shamanic roles, VS and HS, a pattern found among the Bororo and the Arawakan and Tukanoan peoples of northwest Amazonia. This pattern is displayed in table 1. The following notes are designed to bring out the major features of this pattern and do not provide an exhaustive account of northwest Amazonian shamanism.[2]

The Arawakan Wakuénai Baniwa living in the Içana and Guainia basins in the frontier zone of Colombia, Brazil, and Venezuela distinguish between *malirri*—shamans proper—and *malikai liminali*—the owners of chants. Relying on hallucinogenic snuff, rattles, magical stones, and crystals, shamans retrieve lost souls and treat illness by physical manipulation of the patient's body—blowing tobacco smoke, massage, and sucking out harmful objects and vomiting them away. In some cases they also employ the technique of water throwing, ascending to the sky in trance to seek the aid of the ancestors. They are highly active, move about a lot, and use their snuff-heightened senses to locate harmful substances in the bodies of their clients and lost souls in the world outside.

The shamans intersperse their work with sitting on a stool and singing songs that describe the shaman's actions and experience and that refer to the fate of the patient's conscious, individual soul. They

2. This table is an idealized abstraction of the data concerning the Arawakan and Tukanoan groups as a whole. I am aware that it does not correspond exactly to local variations reported in the ethnographic literature. On Arawakan shamanism see Hill 1983 and Wright 1981, 1992; on Tukanoan shamanism see Bidou 1983, Brüzzi Alves da Silva 1962, Buchillet 1983, 1987, 1990, Hugh-Jones 1979, and Reichel-Dolmatoff 1975.

TABLE 1. The Payé and the ~Kubu: Horizontal and Vertical Shamanism Compared

HORIZONTAL SHAMANISM—PAYÉ	VERTICAL SHAMANISM—~KUBU
TRAINING	
—In forest, ecstatic, use of parica snuff.	—In house, reflective, use of yagé.
—Physical transmission of powers; emphasis on personal experience.	—Verbal transmission of powers; emphasis on learning esoteric canon.
—Nonhereditary transmission with payment for teaching.	—Patrilineal transmission with no payment for teaching.
CURING	
—Outside house physically active, direct contact with patient.	—Inside house, physically passive, no contact with patient.
—Uses rattles, stones, and audible, self-reflexive songs.	—Blows on food/drink as vehicles for inaudible nonreflexive spells.
—Action on physical manifestations of illness inside body.	—Action on causative agents located outside body.
—Retrieves lost individual conscious soul.	—Protects collective unconscious soul.
—Retrospective curing of lesser illness.	—Prospective divination, prophylaxis; curing of life-threatening illness.
ATTRIBUTES	
—Powerful.	—Knowledgeable.
—Associated with hunting, fishing, and warfare; with Jaguar, thunder, lightning, and Scorpius.	—Associated with forest fruits and gathering; with Tapir and Pleiades.
DUTIES	
—Provides game and fish; ensures animal fertility.	—Provides fruits; ensures vegetable fertility. Renders game safe to eat.
—Ad hoc activities on behalf of individuals; no marked ceremonial role.	—Regular activities on behalf of community. Major ceremonial role in rites of passage.
—Horizontal relations with outsiders: affines, enemies. Reciprocal exchange.	—Vertical relations with insiders: kin, ancestors. Lineal continuity.
SOCIAL STATUS	
—Younger, physically active, feared.	—Older, physically inactive, respected.
—Lower status; complementary to secular political roles.	—Higher status; overlaps with secular roles.
—Aggressive, morally ambiguous.	—Peaceful, morally unambiguous.

work outside the house in the company of their patients, sometimes in conjunction with other colleagues, and their services are handsomely rewarded in advance—guns and sewing machines are mentioned as payments for treatment of the more serious illnesses. Their powers are graded. The most powerful and most feared are the "snuff-jaguars" or "jaguar owners," master shamans who alone have the power to bewitch others in revenge for sorcery attacks by "poison owners," shamans who use their powers for evil ends. Such powerful shamans as these became the millennial prophets of the last century and are considered to be saviors and "like Christ" today, though it is sometimes claimed that there are no longer any such powerful shamans still living.

By contrast, the chant owners, who also conduct the major rituals surrounding birth, initiation, and death, use only chants and tobacco smoke in their cures. They blow these over gourds of liquid that are given to the patient to drink. They work alone, inside the house, sitting motionless in a hammock, and they have no direct contact with their patients. Employing neither trance, hallucinogens, nor other paraphernalia, they cure entirely through continuous singing and through the verbal manipulations of disease-causing entities that their songs effect. Though they act as vehicles of travel, these songs refer not to the singer but to the fate of the patient's unconscious, collective soul. These chant owners are highly respected and morally unambiguous senior elders who alone can cure life-threatening illness.

This same pattern is true also of the Tukanoans of the Vaupés region, southern neighbors of the Baniwa, who divide shamans into two major categories *yai*—"jaguar" or *payé*—and *~kubu*—"priest."[3] I will refer to these two as payé and ~kubu. The curing activities of the Tukanoan payé, similar to those of his Arawakan counterpart, are neatly summarized in the following text.

3. A similar pattern is reported for the Piaroa. Shamanic activities are divided between the "owner of blowing" and the "owner of prayers." The former inspire fear; have access to the spirit world, where they consult good spirits and fight with enemy shamans and bad spirits; and can diagnose illness. The latter blow spells prescribed by the former and inspire no fear. The owners of blowing are clearly more powerful than the owners of prayers: though the owner of the house, Kaplan's *ruwang* (1975), can be either, a community might have several owners of prayers but only one owner of blowing, and all the latter are owners of prayers as well (Mansutti Rodriguez: 1986 12–13).

> When seeing the diseases the shaman takes "fish-yagé." When he is intoxicated he begins to sing. When he is singing thus he ascends to the rainbow. The shaman carries a rattle adorned with the feathers of the oropendola bird. With this rattle he attracts all things. He attracts all the splinters and stones toward himself. With the rattle and with his shaman's stones he banishes the disease. Then he blows with his cigar that contains the spell. The splinters and stones become visible to him. In these cases he simply grasps them and throws them away. (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1975:94)[4]

These payés employ powerful hallucinogenic snuffs (Virola and Piptadenia) and a special kind of *yagé* ("fish yagé"), which they use to acquire their visionary and ecstatic powers and to see inside their patients' bodies and recapture their lost souls during curing. The ancestors of these payés obtained their powers—snuff, aggressive spells, and a magic club—from the master of thunder, and today they are closely associated with thunder and lightning and with the aggressive powers of the jaguar—the more powerful are able to transform themselves into such animals at will. They often live an isolated, solitary existence in small houses located in headwater areas deep in the forest. Such men are greatly feared and are accused of sorcery by their rivals and by ordinary people. Historically these payés also played an important role in warfare, acting as leaders, inciting others to go on raids, and providing magical paint that made the warriors aggressive and invincible. In this connection, Barasana elders tell of the exploits of Rumbling Jaguar, a shaman who was also a great curer and prophet.[5]

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4. A small gourd rattle, different from the one used in ceremonial dances, is the insignia and essential tool of the Tukanoan payé, the vehicle of his travels. This rattle and other equipment—snuff tubes, quartz crystals, and other magical stones—are illustrated in Allen 1947:578.

The ~kubu's equivalent of this rattle is a long, feather-ornamented ceremonial lance with a swelling in one end into which small stones have been inserted. During dances, he uses this rattle to mark transitions in time. His equivalent to the payés crystals is a large white cylindrical quartzite pendant ("jaguar stone") worn hanging from his neck.

5. The aggressive activities and powers of payés have a particular link with the period of the year known as the Caterpillar Summer (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1975:111,

Novice payés are trained, sometimes in groups, living in isolation with a master shaman. The office is not hereditary, and a powerful payé may transmit his knowledge to nonrelatives from other groups in exchange for payment. The training involves fasting, vomiting, and sexual abstinence, and the novice must obtain a number of spirit weapons and tools of office. Some of these are physically transmitted from his master; others he must obtain for himself. Hallucinogenic substances play a central role in this training, giving the novice his first visionary experiences and allowing him to experience and master the trance state. Emphasis is also placed on individual qualities of persistence and endurance and on the individual's capacity to experience and interpret things for himself (see Reichel-Dolmatoff 1975:76–83).

Within this broad category of payé are distinctions based on differences of technique, source of powers, and specific domain of action, and on relative powers and knowledge. For the Desana, Buchillet (n.d.) reports a division between the "jaguar"—associated with the sky, thunder, and the use of Virola snuff—and the more powerful and dangerous "jaguar of aquatic animal-spirits"—associated with water, the underworld, and the use of a hallucinogen made from the roots of *sakaka* (Conaraceae?).[6] Though Barasana shamans do not use Virola snuff or hallucinogens of any kind in curing,[7] they distinguish between the lower-grade *rude* or *huti reagi* ("one who blows and throws illness away") and the more powerful and knowledgeable *oko yuegi* ("water thrower").[8] The former are often younger men and normally cure less serious illnesses. They do their curing outside the house at night, blowing tobacco smoke over their patients' bodies and sucking and

115–6). This season, ruled over by the constellation Caterpillar Jaguar (roughly equivalent to Scorpius), is one of danger and sorcery and was also the season of warfare. Caterpillar Jaguar (Scorpius) stands in complementary opposition to ~*Yokwaro* (Pleiades), the latter having a marked association with the ~kubu. (Hugh-Jones 1982).

6. Echoes of this division are found in Desana shamans' use of both special fish yagé and Virola bark snuff for curing. Barasana shamans, who eschew such substances, say that fish yagé belongs to the fish spirits and Virola belongs to the tree spirits.

7. Reichel-Dolmatoff's report of Virola use among the Barasana (1975:163) is incorrect—the snuff concerned would have been ordinary tobacco snuff. His report of the use of yagé in shamanic curing (1975:133) would not apply to the contemporary Barasana either.

8. Goldman reports a similar distinction between "blowers," who cure minor ailments and "water throwers," who deal with more serious cases (though the latter have lower status). In this case, water throwers are like the classic payé: they use rattles and hallucinogenic snuff and are associated with jaguars and thunder.

physically manipulating them to extract pathogenic substances. The latter are generally elder men whose role may overlap with that of the ~kubu. They cure more serious illnesses and operate only in the hot midday sun, using water scented with aromatic leaves, which they throw over the patients' body. The water acts as a sieve that trawls through the patient's body removing spines, bundles of fur, or feathers, which the shaman throws away amid much blowing, flicking of fingers, and clapping of hands. The reflection of the sun in the water provides the medium for the shaman's ascension to the sky to consult with ancestral spirits and to seek their aid.[9]

For the Desana, the payé also plays an important economic role, using hallucinogenic snuff to visit the master of animals to obtain game and fish and to enable him to tell the hunters and fishermen where to find their catch. In exchange for the animals, the payé must pay an equivalent number of human souls. The relations between the master of animals and human beings and those between hunters and the animals they kill have a markedly sexual character (see Reichel-Dolmatoff 1971).

As the powers of the payé rest on the ecstatic use of hallucinogens, those of the ~kubu rest on an exhaustive and accurate knowledge of a lengthy and internally differentiated corpus of esoteric knowledge contained in myth. No credence or credit is given to any innovations he might seek to introduce into this canon. His task is to interpret and regulate the contingencies and flux of daily life by relating it to the changeless, transcendent order that myth displays and guarantees.

Selection for this role occurs at birth, and training begins at an early age. Inside the *maloca* and sitting on a stool by his father or paternal uncle—the knowledge is transmitted patrilineally—the aspirant ~kubu listens to portions of myth, committing each one to memory and reciting them back again as proof of his learning. Having mastered the stories, he must learn a series of spells for divination, protection, curing, and aggression, and a lengthy series of chants used in collective ceremonies. He must learn the secrets of how each spell or chant articulates with its relevant segments of narrative. The emphasis is on tranquil reflection, listening, learning, knowing, and

9. Incidents in myth describing characters ascending to the sky via reflections in water and descending to earth on strings provide the conceptual key and primordial basis of these powers (see Hugh-Jones 1979:274–75, M.4.A and B).

understanding, an emphasis encapsulated in the stool on which he sits. To prepare for this knowledge, the aspirant must fast and purify his body. He is given small quantities of yagé (Banisteriopsis) to help him learn.[10] After initiation, as he takes part in collective dances, he takes more yagé, but later on, as a ~kubu, he no longer depends on it. Instead he gives it to other men to enable them to dance and chant and to appreciate an otherworldly dimension that he inhabits through his thoughts alone. Training and learning last long into adult life, and not until a man is an elder and begins to officiate at collective ceremonies does he acquire the status of ~kubu. Full recognition of this status comes only when he conducts the ceremonies centered around sacred flutes and trumpets representing clan ancestors and involving the initiation of young men into a secret men's cult (see Hugh-Jones 1979).[11]

The powers of the ~kubu—to render food safe, to diagnose and cure illness, to divine the future, to protect people from danger, to conduct major rituals, and to mediate contact with the ancestors—rest on verbal spells. Most adult men share some of the attributes of the ~kubu in that they know some spells that they use, in the context of their family, to deal with the everyday problems they confront. What distinguishes the real ~kubu is his total mastery of a much wider range of such spells, his knowledge of their associated mythology, and his ability and willingness to use this knowledge to interpret and control events for the benefit of a wider community of which he is the focus and, often, the leader.

For the Vaupés Indians, many, perhaps most, illnesses are held to be the result of eating food, especially the meat of large animals

10. The slower, more cerebral effects of yagé are quite different from the violent and dramatic effects of Virola. Yagé's effects are essentially visual and auditory and help in learning—the taker sees and hears what he knows. When Barasana men invite each other to chant together after taking the drug, they often say, "Lets go and learn."

The effects of Virola are altogether more physical and bodily: the taker experiences direct and ecstatic sensations of death, flight, possession, and the like. These subjective differences in sensation correspond to differences in the main active chemical constituents of Banisteriopsis (harmine) on the one hand, and of Piptadenia and Virola (beta-carboline and triptamine alkaloids) on the other (see Schultes and Hoffman 1979).

11. The presentation of the *sari* feast, which also involves sacred flutes and trumpets, likewise marks the attainment of the status of *ruwang itso'fha*, or the high status of priestly shaman and territorial leader, among the Piaroa. See Kaplan 1975:54.

or fish, that has not been properly treated. The ~kubu is the expert at the treating procedure. Prospectively, he blows spells to render food safe to eat; retrospectively, he blows them to remove the effects of the failure to carry out this procedure properly. The spells are normally blown silently into some vehicle—food, drink, coca, cigar, paint, nettles—which is ingested by the beneficiary or applied to a part of the body. In this sense the ~kubu's role is complementary to that of the payé—he makes safe what the other provides.

The role of the payé as provider of fish and game is also complemented by the ~kubu's role as provider of forest fruit. Though I have heard no mention of tapir transformations by the ~kubu to match the jaguar transformation of the payé, the tapir figures in various Barasana myths as a ~kubu and as the owner and master of tree fruits. Game or fish and forest fruits are the prime foci of two different and complementary ritual modes, one involving exchange between affinally related exogamous groups of equal status, the other involving internal relations within the clan and a stress on hierarchical relations between individuals. Rituals in the latter mode, conducted by the ~kubu, promote the fertility of forest fruits and form part of the secret clan-based ancestor cult mentioned above.[12]

The curing activities of the payé involve trance and vertical ascents and descents between different cosmic layers; the spells of the ~kubu imply more horizontal travel, in thought, to different places on this earth. His spells have three essential ingredients: a list of animal, plant, and other spirits together with their harmful attributes; an inventory of geographical locations associated with each category of spirit; and a set of verbal commands—I wash, I break, I throw down, I cool down and soon—which put into effect his powers and neutralize those of the animal or spirit concerned. As the spell progresses methodically down the list, the ~kubu travels from place to place cleansing and neutralizing the different dangerous attributes and powers he encounters.

Though the ~kubu has an important role in the prevention and cure of illness, his prime function is to effect the transitions—birth, initiation, and death—that ensure the socialization of individuals, the

12. For the myths see Hugh-Jones 1979:M.6A.287, M.7.J.299. On the ritualization of forest fruit see Hugh-Jones 1979. The division between two distinct ritual modes among the Barasana and other Tukanoans is closely paralleled by a similar division among the Arawakan Wakuénai (see Hill 1984).

passage of generations, and ordered relations between the ancestors and their living descendants. Such transitions are dangerous, and the ~kubu must ward off the dangers involved—here his protective role comes to the fore.[13] Though he may fail to provide adequate protection—a failure that, in serious cases, may lead to a life-threatening wasting away and sapping of vital energy caused by the ancestral spirits—his intentions are not normally called into question. The ~kubu is the upholder of the moral order and is not normally accused of sorcery.

The Payé and ~Kubu in their Social Context

Hill (1984) has argued that the two forms of Wakuénai social organization, division into geographically dispersed exogamic phratries of equal status and into hierarchically ordered sibs making up each phratry, serve as alternative modes for orienting social and economic behavior with respect to the natural environment. The Wakuéani are culturally very similar to their Tukanoan neighbors, and Wright's arguments would apply to them as well. The first, *natural social mode* leads to an opening-up that culminates in ritual exchanges of food and affinal alliances between exogamic groups. It is associated with, among other things, (1) hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities; (2) complementary male and female productive activities; (3) open, indirect exchange between competing affinally related phratries of equal status; and (4) symmetrical or homogenous relations among individuals, with little or no specialization. The second, *ritual-hierarchical mode* involves a contraction of the social order and an emphasis on hierarchical ranking between the sibs of each exogamous phratry. It is associated with, among other things, (1) the synchronization of social and economic behavior with the ripening of forest fruits and with human physiological processes; (2) polarization of male and female activities; (3) closed, direct exchange between kin divided into hierarchically ranked groups; and (4) heterogenous, differentiated relations among individuals, with specialization according to ritual criteria.

13. This protection was once embodied in ceremonial shields owned and used by the ~kubu. Though such methods are no longer in use, the ~kubu still uses his powers to construct invisible protective fences around his community and its people.

These two modes are distinguished as ideal types for analytic purposes, and in practice they are not rigidly differentiated.[14] In part they also overlap with my own analytic distinction between horizontal and vertical shamanism, represented in this instance by the payé and ~kubu. Compared to that of the ~kubu, the position of the payé is relatively more open and democratic, involves somewhat less specialization and a greater element of achievement and competition, and is strongly associated with the outwardly directed activity of hunting and with the antagonistic relations between groups implied in warfare and sorcery accusations. The ~kubu is associated with rituals involving forest fruits and life-crisis ceremonies and has a particular association with the *Yurupari* ceremonies, where the vertical relations between the living and their ancestors and the hierarchical ranking of clans is ritually expressed (see Hugh-Jones 1979).

In northwest Amazonia, the clans in each exogamic group are hierarchically ranked according to the model of the birth order of a set of male siblings and are typically associated with different ritual roles. Among the Barasana, the top clans are chiefs, followed by dancers and chanters, warriors, shamans, and last, servants. Similar systems have been reported for other Tukanoan groups. A curious contradiction exists, however, in the position of the shaman within this system. ~Kubus usually enjoy a position of power as the formal political leaders and headmen of their communities (as chiefs), but their position in the formal clan hierarchy comes near the bottom (acting as servants to these chiefs). The shaman clans have junior ranking partly because just as the youngest sibling is seen as mediating between generations, the shaman, too, has a mediatory role (see Hugh-Jones 1974:126).

The ambiguous position of the shaman can also be related to a certain instability or tension between the hierarchical and egalitarian tendencies that are manifest in northwest Amazonian social organ-

14. In the case of the Barasana, these two modes also correspond to two major cycles of mythology, one dealing with the creation of the sacred flutes and trumpets used in clan rituals and with the ancestral or *he* people who are represented by them (see Hugh-Jones 1979:M1, M5, M6), and the other dealing with the origins of alliance and intergroup exchange that were the prerequisites of the development of truly human society (Hugh-Jones 1979:M7). White people figure only in a third cycle, which is also much concerned with the origins of the powers of the payé. ~Waribi, the hero of this cycle, is the father of white people and the originator of messianism (see Hugh-Jones 1988).

ization, in which repeated and sometimes hotly contested assertions of relative rank between different clans conflict with a more general egalitarian emphasis, both the formal equality between exogamous groups and the de facto equality of the individuals within them outside the context of ritual.[15] These tensions are a version, peculiar to northwest Amazonia, of a much more general and often reported tension in Amazonian societies between dangerous, potentially powerful relations (of warfare, hunting, exogamy) with the outside and with the other, and safe, potentially sterile internal relations with one's own kind, kin and ancestors (see Overing 1983–84).

In addition to his de facto position as political leader, the ~kubu is by definition an elder. The Wakuénai and Desana refer to him as "grandfather" and distinguish him as such from the payé. This testifies to the ~kubu's position of seniority and respect. The role of the ~kubu as a specialist in myths and chants overlaps with that of the chanters and dancers who occupy a position in the hierarchy just below that of the chief; the Wakuénai equivalent for the Barasana term *~kubu* is *malikai liminali*, "the owners of chants." Although the role of chanter is formally distinguished from that of ~kubu, all individual ~kubus known to me in the Pirá-Paraná region are also specialist chanters. This shows the importance of distinguishing between the formal categorization of different ritual roles associated with ranked sibs and their de facto allocation among different living individuals.

I also tentatively suggest that the ambiguity surrounding the status of the shaman can be resolved and understood if we relate it to the division between the payé and the ~kubu. The shaman as younger, physically active payé normally enjoys a relatively low status and limited power, a position that corresponds to that of the shaman in the formal ranking, sib-linked ritual roles. The shaman as elderly, reflective, and priestly ~kubu enjoys a relatively high status as political leader, a position that implicitly corresponds to that of the chief. Further, where the payé and ~kubu occur together, the potential for tension or conflict exists between them and will be increased if the payé begins to assert a more prominent leadership role. Such a sit-

15. Societies like those of northwest Amazonia "have not developed into theocratic chiefdoms due to the strongly egalitarian, or "bottom up," ethos of everyday social life that counterbalances the ongoing production of highly specialized ritual hierarchy" (Wright, 1992, 14).

uation probably arose during contact with colonial powers, when payés became the prophet-leaders of millennial cults.

The Early Millennial Cults

During the latter half of the last century, the Indians living in the frontier zone of Colombia, Venezuela, and Brazil took part in a series of messianic movements, led by shaman-prophets claiming a divine mission and identifying themselves with Christ. Though these movements were centered around Arawakan ritual specialists from the Guainia and Içana basins, their effects spread southward to the Vaupés region and involved Tukanoan Indians both as adepts and followers and as leaders of their own cult activities. Though each movement has been identified with a particular leader, the cultural similarities and frequent contacts between the different Arawakan and Tukanoan groups of the area, the similarities in the reported details of the movements, their connections in time and space, and the common socioeconomic circumstances related to contact with outsiders suggest that they formed part of a much wider and more widespread state of religious ferment that affected the region as a whole.

So far, the anthropological studies of these movements have focused exclusively on material from Venezuela and Brazil (see Hill and Wright 1988, Schaden 1983/84, Wright 1981, Wright and Hill 1986). Published material from the Colombian Vaupés and data from my own field research among the Barasana provide new insight into these movements and confirm that they were more widespread than is commonly supposed. Before presenting the Colombian material I will give a brief synthesis of some of the better known cases.[16]

As far as is known, the movements began around 1857 with the preaching of Venancio Aniseto Kamiko (also called Venancio Christu) and continued into the 1880s. The leaders of these movements—Venancio Aniseto Kamiko (Baniwa, 1857–58), Alexandre Christo (Tukano, 1858), Aniseto (Baniwa, 1875 and following), and Vicente Christo (Arapaço, 1878 and following)—were shamans with extraor-

16. Though the data does not always support such generalizations, for reasons of brevity I shall generalize between cases. For the details of each movement, the interested reader should consult Wright 1981.

dinary powers of clairvoyance, transformation, and curing. They claimed that in visions they ascended to heaven and had direct communication with the dead, with spirits, with the saints, and with the Christian God and various indigenous figures—Tupana, Yáperikuli, Oaki—who are often identified with him. The prophets claimed to be Christ, and some of their followers took on the names of the saints—Santa Maria, São Lourenço, and Padre Santo.

These prophets preached that the Indians should cease to work for the white people. The white people would be expelled, and a great fire would bring an end to the present world and mark the start of a paradise free from exploitation and oppression by outsiders, free of the illnesses they brought, and with an abundance of food to end the starvation and misery brought on by colonial contact. In preparation for the new order, to hasten its arrival and to guarantee their salvation, the faithful were told to fast, abandon work in their gardens, and bring presents and gifts of food for their leaders.

The prophets organized mass meetings in special houses where they preached in front of crosses and conducted baptisms, confessions, marriages, and divorces. At these meetings, carved wooden images of Christ were used, and the people danced and sang, carrying small wooden crosses in their hands and singing, "máariye, máariye" ("heron, heron")—a common refrain from a genre of sacred dance music found among the contemporary Arawakans and Tukanoans (see fig. 1). The prophets predicted the coming of the Catholic missionaries and claimed responsibility for their arrival, but in taking over the role of the priests and employing Christian imagery and symbolism, they implied that the missionaries were now redundant. In other respects the gatherings appear to have had much in common with caboclo saint's day festivals and with indigenous dance feasts (*dabukuri*) where food is exchanged between affinally related groups.

The shaman-prophets were also famous as curers. As part of their cures, they anointed people's bodies with magical substances and covered them with leaves. They also went into trance and acted as mediums, ascending to the sky to bring down the spirits of the dead so that they could communicate with the living and assist the shamans in curing the sick. The dances themselves also protected people from disease and brought them health.

With their revolutionary promise of freedom from oppression and injustice, and with the Indians in open rebellion, the movements

ANORE YAIWA O COMUA MASIRI, JINYA MEVA WATI POARIRE.
SIRO CUA MASIRIJIMA AMANUÇA, JIYA WAIMASA YERE TADICARÉ.
CAPEA PIOADA JINRÁ SIRO PURE KUA BUA TINJIRA, TIERE WAIMASA YERE PIOJIYA DIAREGUE IÑANDA JINRA TIE MEKUOROMENA.
LOS PAYES NO CONOCIAN LA ENFERMEDAD T.B.C. Y COMENZARON A BUSCA DE DONDE VENIA, SE ECHABAN GOTAS DE HIERBA SACADAS DE WAIMASA EN LOS OJOS Y ASI MIRARON LA ENFERMEDAD POR MEDIO DE VISIONES.

FIG. 1. Page from bilingual Tukanoan/Spanish booklet produced by the Servicio de Salúd, Mitú, Comisaría del Vaupés, Colombia, as part of a campaign against tuberculosis (author and artist unknown). The drawing shows people dancing with crosses while payés shake bunches of leaves and employ visionary techniques as part of their curing. The caption reads: "The payés knew nothing of TB and began to find out where it came from. They put drops of liquid from a plant obtained from Waimasa (the spirits) in their eyes so that they could see the disease through their visions."

were bound to arouse the suspicions and hostility of the local white traders, missionaries, and government officials. As they became more militant, the leaders were banished or put in prison, and the villages of their followers were raided by parties of soldiers who burned down the houses, stole anything of value, and sent the inhabitants fleeing to the forest. Over a period of some twenty-five years, as each movement was suppressed, the agitation went underground, flaring up again at a later date and in a different place.

Discussion

Features of these movements show clear parallels with the indigenous shamanism and religion of the area and with elements of Christianity.

Superficially, a number of features of the movements—crosses, hymn singing, confessions of sin and pleas for forgiveness, baptisms, marriages, and the figures of God, Christ, and the saints—appear to be direct borrowings from Catholicism. However, these elements were often mediated through the folk beliefs of the local caboclo population and were reinterpreted in the light of indigenous beliefs and practices.

Venancio Christu was well versed in Christian ideas, having been brought up by a preacher and having spent his childhood among caboclos. To begin with, he called himself a saint, and many features of his movement and of those that followed show clear parallels with the local saint cults. Some of the prophets' assistants took on the names of saints, the offerings of food made to the shaman-prophets parallel those made by caboclos to saints in return for protection and redemption from sin, and saints figured prominently in the cult songs as promising forgiveness of sins.

The rites of baptism performed by the cult leaders combined aspects of Christianity and Indian religion. Like the confessions and singing that went with them, these rites promised redemption from sin and suffering. The epidemics and outbreaks of new diseases that came with colonial contact were interpreted in terms of sin, but the Indians' notion of sin had clear affinities with their own understanding of disease causation. In this area, illness is often diagnosed in terms of breaches of food taboos, a point that clarifies why fasting was so important and why some cult leaders forbade the consumption of meat and chilli peppers (see Buchillet and Galvão, n.d.).

In addition to their parallel with the shamanic practice of water throwing, these baptisms have resonances with indigenous naming practices. Personal names, conferred by shamans of the VS type, are the seat of the collective ancestral soul that each individual acquires soon after birth. The appropriation of the most powerful names from Christian mythology appears to have been part of a more general strategy of wresting control of new religious forces and assimilating them to those already known to the Indians. The name Christu was an important aspect of the shaman-leaders' own power, and they used this power to bestow the names of the saints on their followers.[17]

17. Two cult leaders, Vicente Anizetto Kamiko and Anizetto himself, shared the same name.

Indians often ask foreigners other than priests to bestow names on their children. Historically traders often fulfilled this role, and some Indians kept little figures of

Identifying themselves with Christ, the prophet-shamans claimed that they could ascend to the sky to speak with deities. Contemporary Tukanoan and Arawakan Indians often liken powerful jaguar shamans to Christ or to figures in mythology identified with him, and the shamans themselves claim that, in curing, they ascend to the sky to speak with indigenous ancestors or Christian deities. Such ascents are talked of in terms of a "death" and "rebirth."

The shamans often interpret critical illness as a divine calling, and their ability to survive such illnesses is treated as an important index of their supernatural powers. Venancio Kamiko began his prophecies following his recovery from illness and attributed his recovery to a divine calling. The prophets are reported to have imposed obligatory fasting on themselves and their followers and to have ordered them to withdraw from productive activities. In this area, fasting and withdrawal from work figures prominently in shamanic training, in the treatment of illness, and in preparation for ritual activity. The gifts that the prophets ordered their followers to bring likewise parallel the payments made to shamans for curing and other services.

More directly, indigenous accounts of the movements often state explicitly that the prophet-leaders were shamans of the ecstatic or HS type. The Brazilian Desana refer to these leaders as "payés of the cross" and describe how they used hallucinogenic snuff in their cults and how they obtained from the sky holy water that they used in curing (see Buchillet and Galvão, n.d.). The use of this water is explicitly linked with the shaman's practice of water throwing. Evidence also suggests a correspondence between the hand-held crosses used by the prophets and their followers in their meetings and the gourd rattles used by the shamans in curing and by the dancers at feasts (see fig. 1).

The details of the messianic gatherings show clear parallels with more traditional dance feasts. In both contexts, singing and dancing figure as key transformatory devices mediating between mundane and spiritual existence. In the mythology of the area, ancestral spirit

saints in special nichelike boxes for them to use on these occasions (see Koch-Grünberg 1909/10: 185).

Indians in the Pirá-Paraná region still bear names like Christu (Christo), Sãtiago (Santiago), Pau (Paulo), Poro (Paulo), Atuni (Antonio), and Maria, which they associate directly wtih the early messianic cults.

beings became human as the result of singing, dancing, or drumming. In the case of feasts, singing and dancing temporarily transform the state of ordinary people back into that of spirits. In the case of messianism, this singing and dancing was meant to transform the people and their world into a permanent state of immortality in a paradise inhabited by the ancestors, with abundant food, no work, and no suffering—a transformation that would reverse the original creation.

The ability to foretell the future is also a feature of shamanism in this area. The prophets foretold the ending of the present world, sometimes in a cataclysmic fire, sometimes in darkness accompanied by violent storms, and sometimes by the world being turned upside down. The theme of the ending of the world and the coming of a new order figures prominently in local mythology, most notably in the myth of Jurupary, who was burned to death in a universal conflagration. The fire was the origin of both the sacred flutes and trumpets used in clan ancestor cults and of human sickness and suffering. Following the fire Jurupary ascended to heaven, where he lives in a world free from suffering. The Indians' stories of the prophet leaders describe how they ascended to the skies to make contact with these ancestral figures and how, following their deaths, they too became immortal beings in heaven.

The Background to the Movements

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Tukanoan and Arawakan Indians living along the Río Negro and along the lower parts of its major western affluents, the Içana, Guainia, and Vaupés, had already had considerable contact with colonial society. Slave raids in the first half of the eighteenth century had depleted the population of the upper Río Negro, and though on a much reduced scale, they were still happening at the time of Wallace's visit in 1850. Missionaries, soldiers, and merchants had made repeated efforts to settle the Indians in nucleated villages, some located near centers of agricultural production far downstream. The Indians were also exposed to new diseases against which they had little resistance, and they suffered waves of epidemics from the late eighteenth century onward.

At the end of the century, the collapse of the plantation-based economy on the Río Negro brought a period of relative peace for

the still surviving Indians. They abandoned the downstream villages and returned to their homelands to reconstruct their society, a process involving the revival of traditional forms and the integration of elements of new technology and ideology. They became increasingly dependent on steel and other foreign goods, and the sporadic activity of the missionaries and contact with the caboclo population exposed them to orthodox and folk Catholic beliefs, which they interpreted selectively in the light of their own ideas and experience.

This brief period of relative calm was soon shattered by the rise of a mercantile economy based on a combination of debt bondage and various kinds of taxation, forced labor, and outright slavery. Harried by traders and soldiers, the Indians built boats, made ropes, produced farinha, and extracted products from the forest—all for scant, if any, reward. In addition to exploitation, they suffered hunger and disease, the loss of children taken away to be "civilized," and the theft of their food and property. It is no wonder that they rebelled and sought hope in the missionaries' teachings.

It is important not to slip too readily into presenting Indians and white people as two opposed blocs. The relations between Indians and colonists and between the different components of the colonial society contain many tensions and ambiguities. Neither white people nor Indians can be treated as unambiguous and unitary categories. On an expanding frontier, the terms *White, Indian,* and the intermediary *caboclo* are relative and contextually defined. But this is not simply a matter of verbal categories. Venancio and the other prophets were men with considerable experience of colonial society. Some of their followers were caboclos, and the traders and soldiers these prophets opposed were either acculturated Baniwa and Baré or of mixed descent.

Furthermore, some Indians acted as the agents and allies of the colonial powers, either out of their own self-interest or because, as official appointees, they had no choice. These middlemen, from groups classed by the colonial powers as "settled" or "civilized," were charged with negotiating resettlement, administering a tax on farinha, providing child and adult labor, and organizing punitive slave raids against the more isolated *gentios* of the interior. Like their contemporary counterparts, the men who carried out these orders were in an ambiguous position liable to generate tensions within the group. A hint of such tension is contained in the oral history of the

Hohódene, a Wakuénai sib, where different chiefs debate over whether or not to follow a mestizo trader and relocate downstream, a debate that leads to the splitting up of the group (see Wright and Hill 1986:38).

Some of these middlemen became powerful chiefs in their own right and amassed large amounts of wealth, both indigenous valuables captured in raids on their neighbors and manufactured goods supplied by the traders in exchange for slaves, labor, local produce, and even the sexual services of their women (see Coudreau 1887:148). They were feared and hated by the more isolated groups. The Uanano tell how they joined their Baniwa allies in raids on the headwaters of the Tiquié and Papurí (see Chernela 1983:445–48). From the other side of the fence, the peoples of the Pirá-Paraná and Apaporís tell of a terrible period when they were raided by the cannibal Barea Gawa, who carried off men, women, and children to the Río Negro, from whence they never returned.

Like the traders, these middlemen exploited the ambiguities between kinship obligations, indigenous barter, and capitalist credit that often underlie debt bondage across ethnic frontiers (see Hugh-Jones 1992). The Indians' demand for manufactured goods was also, and still remains, an essential part of a system that creates dependency and converts it into gross exploitation. The vehement rejection of exploitation through debt bondage emerges clearly as a theme of the Arawakan millennial movements (see Wright and Hill 1986). Its counterpart, the theme of dependency on manufactured goods, is clear in the cult activity in the Pirá-Paraná region, where elements of Christian belief were linked with the acquisition of merchandise. Similar ideas may have played a part in the Arawakan movements as well. A hint of them occurs in a Desana account of Vaupés millennialism in which Camillo (=Vicente Kamiko) is described as God living in a well-lit house in the sky that is filled with food (both Indian crops and white peoples' food, like rice and beans) and all kinds of goods.[18]

Alongside internal friction caused by alliances between Indians and outsiders is evidence of tensions between those engaged in cult activity and others who avoided such involvement. One reason for

18. The text states, "He had everything: concertinas, a violin." When the colonial authorities arrested Vicente Christo's three assistants, Padre Santo, Santa Maria, and São Lourenço, among the things found in their possession were three old shotguns and two old violas (Wright and Hill 1986).

these tensions may have been that the cult activities attracted military reprisals that others wished to avoid. There is evidence that some Indians rejected the message of the prophets and doubted their claims and authority. Wright (1981:296) mentions Tukano and Tariana chiefs who were in conflict with Alexandre Christu on this score. The claims and pretensions of the prophet shamans are also likely to have led to conflict and jealousy between them and other shaman rivals. Tensions between the shaman-prophets and other Indians and doubts about the truth of their message also emerge as a theme in accounts of cult activity in the middle Vaupés and Pirá-Paraná. Using the label "sin," these prophets preached against the *brujos*, or evil shamans; and when the prophets died, their deaths were put down to poisoning by jealous rivals (see Buchillet and Galvão, n.d.).

Further ambiguities can be seen in the position of the missionaries vis-à-vis both Indians and traders. On the one hand, the missionaries set themselves up as protectors of the Indians against the abuses of traders and soldiers. This protective role is seen most clearly in their opposition to the slave raids against the Makú and other more isolated Indian groups. They also engaged in trade with the Indians, supplying them with manufactured goods in return for labor and local products, a role that brought them into sharp conflict with the local traders, or *regatões* (see Coudreau 1887:149, 153). Padre Coppi applied to Manaus for official permission to expel both traders and payés from the region by armed force, and in his diary, he devotes as much space to harangues against the former as he does to diatribes against the latter (see Coppi, n.d.).

On the other hand, the missionaries themselves imposed a harsh regime and were involved in the slave trade (see Spruce 1908:355), in the enforced relocations of Indian settlements, and in the "civilization" of their inhabitants. Most importantly of all, they waged a vigorous campaign against the Indians' religion in general and against the shamans in particular. At stake was the issue of who were the legitimate representatives and controllers of supernatural power. The shamans saw the missionaries as their counterparts and rivals and accredited them with the same powers. For them the Christian God was their own Jurupary, the Indian culture hero, whose virgin mother Amaru was none other than the Virgin Mary. In conducting baptisms and marriages as part of their messianic activities, they were taking over the priest's functions and implying that the missionaries' presence

and pretensions were redundant. When priests arrived to investigate Alexandre's movement, those involved sent a message saying that "they did not need Padres for they already had their own" (Wright 1981:293). For their part, the Padres saw the shamans as satanic imposters and their cult of Jurupary as Devil worship.

These tensions came to a head in the 1880s when the Franciscan missionary Padre Coppi installed himself at Ipanoré, a Tariana village described by Coudreau as "par excellence a village of payés" (1887:152). As the climax of his attack on native religion, Coppi publicly exposed the sacred Jurupary masks to the women and children of the village. In the uproar that followed, the missionaries were expelled from the area.

Coudreau, from whom the information on this incident comes, also provides some glimpses of religious tensions within Indian society itself.

> The payés do not agree about this Tupan; some, but few, celebrate feasts in his honour: it is he, they say, who created everything that exists. But many among them do not agree that the Tupan of the White people is the same as their own.
>
> They consider that one and the same Tupan cannot serve for two races. When they are drunk they are arrogant in their affirmations. "Our God," they say, "is more powerful than that of the White people." But here it is above all Jurupary who they have in mind. Quite coolly, those who interpret the mythology establish a kind of vague hierarchy: Jurupary, the Terrible; the Indians' Tupan, the Good one; the White man's Tupan, the Powerful. But they are more keen to take charge of the latter than they are frightened of him. (1887:193–94)

Following the exposure of the masks, these tensions became acute. Different shamans had competing visions: to one, Tupan appeared with a message that the Indians should submit to the priests and renounce their traditional feasts; to another, Jurupary said, "Tell the people of the Uaupés that I am not so stupid as to tell them to abandon me"; to yet another, he appeared saying, "The mysteries have been profaned, you serve our enemies or you do not care, the great Jurupary, the powerful, the terrible is angry with you" Coudreau 1887:200).

With the exposure of the masks, the cult of Jurupary and the messianic activity of dancing with crosses were now firmly opposed, a split that threatened the Indians' religion and the position of the shamans. Powerful shamans, in close touch with divinity, had claimed that God or Tupana, a figure equated with the creator of the world and father of Jurupary in Indian mythology, had sent missionaries with shamanic powers at their own bequest. These same missionaries were now attacking the cult of Jurupary. It is highly probable that this opposition between messianism and Jurupary found resonances in the division between the ecstatic jaguar shaman and the priestly ~kubu. The messianic prophets were primarily jaguar shamans of the HS type, and the dominant figures in the ancestral cult of Jurupary were ~kubus.

There has not simply been straight opposition between Indians and white people in which elements of Christianity, appropriated and reinterpreted by Indian shamans, were used as a protest against colonial forces. Instead, such protest emerged as part of a much more complex pattern of tensions and contradictions that also created internal divisions in Indian society. I suspect that some of these tensions involved the relation between the payé and the ~kubu.

Without better data, it is impossible to say exactly how these tensions were related to the changing fortunes of indigenous shamanism through time. All we really know is that after its initial outburst in the second half of the last century, messianism declined along the major rivers exposed to more intense contact; that it persisted much longer in the more isolated headwater areas; and that since the decline of millennialism, jaguar shamanism appears to have declined in importance throughout the region as a whole.

I suggest that the decline of messianism is directly linked with that of jaguar shamanism and that both are related to the establishment of permanent and effective Catholic missions in the first decades of this century. Where Catholic missionaries became firmly established, the priests asserted their control over Christian symbols and ritual and over the religious life of the Indians and directly attacked the more visible activities of the jaguar shamans. In these areas, ~kubus have continued to practice, though their activities are reduced in scope and carried on in a semiclandestine fashion. In the more isolated headwater areas, where direct missionary influence dates from the late 1960s, jaguar shamans appear to have come to

prominence during a short period of cult activity and then to have undergone a similar decline, with some of their functions and attributes being taken over by the ~kubus, who continue to flourish today.

In the Arawakan area to the north of the Vaupés, from the 1940s onward, the hegemony of the Catholic missionaries was challenged by a highly successful missionary campaign led by the American evangelist Sofia Müller of the fundamentalist New Tribes Mission and, to a much lesser extent, by the World Evangelization Crusade. Today, some 80 percent of the Arawakans are *creyentes*, or "believers," with the rest nominally Catholic (see Journet 1988:23). Though there were probably many reasons underlying the extraordinary enthusiasm with which the Baniwa took to evangelical Protestantism (see Journet 1988:23-40), one important factor seems to have been their earlier history of messianism. According to Wright, Sofia's message was couched "in almost the exact same terms as the early messiahs" and has given rise to "a movement with strongly messianic and millenial overtones." Lead by native pastors, these Protestant converts are overtly opposed to shamanic practices. Despite this opposition, jaguar shamans are still most active, and small-scale millenial movements still broke out in the 1950s and 1960s (Wright 1981:85-87).

Cult Activity in the Middle Vaupés Area

Although the movements described above had their focus among the Arawakan groups immediately to the north, they spread southward among the Tukanoan Indians living in the basin of the Río Vaupés. Alexandre Christo, a Tukano Indian and the second prophet, lived near the mouth of Japú Igarapé at Juquira, between the Tariana settlements of Ipanoré and Jauaraté, and his movement attracted many of the more isolated Indians from the surrounding forests. Vicente Christo, an Arapaço, was based in the headwaters of Japú Igarape, and his movement had influence throughout the Vaupés area. Further cult activity took place in the Papurí area and up along the Río Tiquié into the headwater area toward the Río Pirá-Paraná.

Although the data on these cults is fragmentary, it seems clear that they were in the same general idiom and related to those already described. It is not possible to assign precise dates to these latter cults, but the evidence of contemporary Indian informants suggests

that they came after the downstream movements described earlier. Buchillet and Galvão (n.d.) provide a genealogy of the leaders of the movement, which I shall use to order the data.

According to Buchillet and Galvão, Camillo (Vicente Christu) taught Alizente (Alexandre) and Tomaso. Tomaso then taught Vicente and a Tukano called Joaquim Parakata, who announced that, as the present earth was rotten and full of sickness, he would create a new one by turning it upside down. Three generations later, a miraculous child called Maria appeared among the Desana of the Makuku, an affluent of the Papurí. The story of Maria is well known throughout the Vaupés (see also Anon. 1970:23–24, Builes 1951, and Kumu and Kenhiri 1980:86–87).

Maria was the daughter of an old woman also called Maria. Some stories say that she had no father; others say that she witnessed her own conception. With water from a crystal goblet, the old woman anointed the young Maria's eyes so that she had visions. The child, who was called a saint, prophesied the arrival of the missionaries and, in the presence of a cross, began to preach about heaven and hell and sin and salvation and to sing special songs. People came from miles around to hear the child, and the old Maria organized gatherings at which the faithful brought flowers for the young girl and danced around a cross ornamented with leaves.[19]

At an early age, the child cried a lot, made a cross, and began to sing strange songs. Later she made her father prepare a drum and a special cross of red hardwood and persuaded her female friends to get their fathers to do likewise. Initially the adults disapproved of her songs and doubted what she told them. "You are talking rubbish when you speak like this," they said to Maria. "You are lying and just want to frighten us" (Buchillet and Galvão, n.d.). But when she told them that her songs had been taught her by Christ and would release the people from their heavy burden of sin, they agreed to learn the songs, which could also make the souls of the dead ascend to heaven. The elders now began to believe in Christ, who was in the sky, but who would one day appeare among them. Her fame spread from the Papurí to the Vaupés, Tiquié, and Pirá-Paraná, and people came from miles around to hear her.

19. At the time of Builes's visit in 1950, the hardwood cross was still standing on the site of the maloca where Maria lived. Buchillet's data mentions the Salesians moving this cross to Jauareté.

The white people sent her a box containing a flag and other ornaments used by the caboclos for their saints' day festivals. In it they put a curse that caused a measles epidemic among her followers. After the epidemic, Maria announced the end of the world, a time when all sinners would be turned into animals with horns and be eaten by jaguars and spirits. She added that deer and cows had once been people who were punished for their sins, a theme that reappears in a Barasana text. Maria was finally poisoned by jealous neighbors, and after her death, the cult ceased. But her songs, the songs of the Holy Cross, are still fresh in the memories of the older men, who still sing them to enthusiastic shouts of "Viva Santa Cruz."[20]

Maria was followed by a Tukano prophet called Lino Sêwa or Santo Lino, who also had a following that extended from the Papurí to the Vaupés and Tiquié. He lived at Termite Rapid, the site of the first Montfortian mission on the Papurí. He told everyone to make their own cross, taught them sacred songs, and preached that all his

20. According to Builes (1951), her songs went as follows:

1. María, María, ori!
(Mary, Mary flowers).

2. María, María, oriá
oriá, oriá.
(Mary, Mary flowers,
flowers, flowers).

3. Santa, santa, santa,
María, santa, santa.
(Holy, holy, holy,
Mary, holy, holy).

4. María, santa mano
Virgo, perdone pecadores,
perdone pecadores,
perdone pecadores.
(Our holy Mary
Virgin, forgive (us) sinners,
forgive (us) sinners,
forgive (us) sinners).

More or less identical songs were recorded by C. Hugh-Jones in 1982 in a Tukano village on the Tiquié below Parí-Cachoeira and known to the Barasana of the Pirá-Paraná. Other verses of these include:

Orire dupeoda Santa María,
Orire dupeoda Santa María.
(Put down the flowers, Holy Mary,
Put down the flowers, Holy Mary).

San Menitu María, San Menitu María,
María San Menitu, María San Menitu,
Perdona di perdona.
(Saint Benedict María, Saint Benedict Mary,
Mary Saint Benedict, Mary Saint Benedict,
forgive (us), forgive (us).

followers would ascend to heaven. He also effected many cures with medicines of his own creation and was responsible for an extraordinary flush of flowers in the local forests (see Brüzzi Alves da Silva 1962:320–21). This Lino Sêwa is almost certainly the same as Yewá, a prophet who used a magic mirror given him by God to foretell the arrival of the missionaries (Kumu and Kenhiri 1980:87).

Buchillet and Galvão (n.d.) talk of a prophet called ~Yehuri. ~Yehuri also lived at Termite Rapid and was probably the same person as Santo Lino. He was a water-throwing shaman whose cult used parica snuff and blessings of holy water obtained from the sky. ~Yehuri announced the end of the world, a period of darkness when jaguars and spirits would punish all sinners by eating them, the Indians would become white people, children would give birth, and babies would be born hairy and would speak from their mothers' wombs as a sign of their divinity.

~Yehuri was followed by another Tukano, Raimundo. Raimundo's father was a payé who wanted to teach him to become a shaman by giving him parica snuff. Initially Raimundo had no visions and appears to have resisted his father's wishes. Later he accepted the call, and having made a hardwood cross, which he set up in front of his house, he began to predict the coming end of the world in a similar vein to his predecessors, much to the annoyance and jealousy of other shamans, who tried to kill him with sorcery. In addition to preaching, Raimundo gave his followers parica, but they failed to have the same visions.

Raimundo was finally poisoned, and Buchillet's informant ends his narration with the following words:

> Raimundo was the last. This talk ended with him. Parica ended with him too. The people who talked of these things no longer exist. That was of another time. . . . When Raimundo was older he had this to say: "I did these things but I couldn't stand the strain. When people want to do these things, many people come together. They listen and after hearing much they get tired and jealous." (Buchillet and Galvão, n.d.)

These words neatly summarize the decline of both messianism and the use of hallucinogenic parica snuff, the mark of the payé.

Cult Activity in the Pirá-Paraná Region

Information on messianism in the Pirá-Paraná region comes from two brothers, Pasico and Pau, living close to the headwaters of the Rio Tiquié. The Barasana refer to Vaupés messianic cult activity as "Bitter's songs" (*Sie basa*) and tell how they were taught the songs by "Bitter" (*Sie*) or *~Waribi*, ("He-who-went-away"). ~Waribi, a trickster figure and culture hero well known throughout the Vaupés under various different names, is the source of shamanic powers and is responsible for the creation of the first people. He is also identified with Christ: rejected by the Indians, he departs from this earth and creates white people, their possessions, and their powers, together with the ills and suffering they bring (see Hugh-Jones 1988).

Pasico's story of messianism tallies well with the information provided above and brings together the time dimensions of mythology and history. Not just a factual description, it combines details of the cults with an account of how ~Waribi returns to offer the Indians a second chance—freedom from suffering and, by implication, access to the material wealth that he created and gave to the white man. This second chance is conditional on their acceptance of his message.

Pasico's story comes at the end of a long myth. Before it begins, ~Waribi has rid the world of the last evil creatures and cannibals left over from earlier times. Pasico's (much edited) story continues as follows.

> "There's going to be no more of that," said ~Waribi, "now there are going to be beautiful people." He was about to create the ancestors, all the peoples of the world, with his songs. "Now I'm going to sing my song," he said, "the song of the heavens, of the heavenly water."
>
> He went up into the sky to fetch a small gourd of special water. He was going to pour it over himself and wash off all the dirt and pollution he had picked up in his earlier travels. This was the first baptism, what the priests do today.
>
> Now he was ready to begin his songs, so he called all the people to him. He did this where he came to earth, where they first sang Bitter's songs, on the Vaupés at Bitter's beach, at Bitter Jaguar's mountain. The Tukano were the first to hear his songs, then he taught our people at Huriti, where there is another of

his mountains, the place where he sang. He called our ancestor Yeba, and he was prepared to listen. He called the Bará, the Tukano, the Arapaço, and even some of the Tatuyo, and they all listened. But the Taiwano, other Tatuyo, and the Cubeo wouldn't listen. ~Waribi taught the other groups, the Tuyuka, the Tukano, and the Bará. Lots of people came to hear the songs he taught.

From the Tukano the dance spread from group to group up the Tiquié. Many different peoples sang these songs, but the ~Yake ~Hidoria [a Barasana clan] wouldn't. They said, "It's all rubbish, white people's stuff. They are singing the white people's songs." The ~Hidoa ~Sida [a Tatuyo clan] didn't sing them either, nor the Makuna—they didn't know about them and said they were rubbish. The Tanimuka and Yukuna, all those downstream peoples, they had nothing to do with it. It came this way, up the Tiquié. And ~Waribi had come from that way too, in the beginning. It came up as far as here and then stopped. That's how they knew about those dances—because ~Waribi had left the knowledge with them.

There was much debate as to whether or not to listen to him. Yeba, the Barasana ancestor, asked him, "What are your songs like anyhow? I'm going to sing my own songs, our people's songs," he said. Others said to ~Waribi, "You're a stranger, not one of us." "I am good," replied ~Waribi. "I'm not lying." But lots of people doubted him and said he was lying. They said, "I'm having nothing to do with him. He's a liar, a brute, a bastard. He knows nothing." When they said these things, he sent them away. "You go and stand over there," he said, cursing them, causing them to fall down, and making their feet and hands stiff. He turned them into wild beasts—caimans, tapirs, deer, and jaguars. "People like that are not meant to hear my words," ~Waribi said. They missed their chance to become people. "It's your own fault," he said to them. The ones who refused to listen to him were turned into animals with horns and with paws like animals or dogs. Everyone was frightened, so they all came. That's what my father said.

~Waribi brought special water for baptism with him; it was meant for them to use today, too. Stone Flycatcher [a mythical character identified with the Holy Ghost] was there with him.

He said to the people, "His songs are good; listen to them. His message is good; he's against people aguing, fighting, and killing each other. He's already got rid of all those who fight and kill and who eat people."

"What are you going to sing about?" they asked him. "I shall sing about my mother," ~Waribi replied. "Lets hear it then," they said. "One of you must respond as I sing," said ~Waribi. A man from the Waiya ~Koaboda clan [Barasana] stood not listening to him, and others, the ~Hadera [a Barasana subgroup], were also not attending to him and were acting as if they did not want to see him. "What are you doing?" asked ~Waribi, "This is for everyone to learn, for all the people." This happened at ~Badaitara House, at Huriti, an ancestral site on the Apaporís.

~Waribi had a special drink with him, Bitter's wine. Yeba sipped a little bit of this drink. Then all the people came into the house to hear him teach, and they were pleased by what he told them. There were also other people who were with his mother. "My mother has not disappeared," said ~Waribi; "here she is with me."

But others still said, "It's all lies; he's tricking us. He wants to put an end to fighting and killing. He's going to finish us all. Let's kill him." But he replied, "You can't do that. I cannot be killed. I am from the heavens." "Well, we'll see about that," they replied, eager to kill him. Others said, "Don't kill him." They were Indians, who liked him and wanted to hear his message.

Then he began to sing. The people listened, but they couldn't sing his songs. That's why today, too, we do not know you white people's songs. First ~Waribi taught them the song about Paul.

"Pau ~sato, Pau ~sato,
sa Kiritu, sa Kiritu,
yi dopena ~Satiagu,
Pau ~sato, Pau ~sato, Pau ~sato,"

he sang. "So that's how it goes," they said.

"Should we sing it too?" they asked themselves. Haruhi the Dancer said, "I'll sing his song. How does it go?" he asked. "I'll tell you bit by bit," ~Waribi replied, adding, "Keep quiet you

lot. If you want to talk you must go outside." That's why today, too, the priests always tell people to stop talking.

Then ~Waribi sang some more:

"~Baría ~sato, ~Baría ~sato,
ridopena ~Satiagu,
~Baría ~sato, ~Baría ~sato, ~Baría ~sato."

He was singing about his mother, the Virgin Mary.

Then he sang about flowers:

"Gori ~sato, gori ~sato,
~Sata ~Baría, gori ~sato."

"Ah! So that's how it goes," they said. "I'll see if I can do it too," said Yeba. "Look at him singing along like a woman," they said. "I'm no woman," said Haruhi the Dancer. "Yeba can sing along with him if he likes, but I'm going to sing my own songs." He wanted to be an Indian. "Yeba's just pretending. He's not ~Waribi's son. He's not his younger brother," they said, jeering at Yeba, who insisted on singing along with ~Waribi.

Then ~Waribi sang again:

"~Sa Kirítu, ~Sa Kirítu,
ridopena ~Satiagu, ~Sa Kirítu,
~sato ~Baría, ~sato ~Baría."

Then ~Waribi said, "I'm going to baptize you. I'm going to wash you with this heavenly water." He washed Yeba so he was like a white man. "Let's follow him," said Yeba. "We should all take part in the dances, the children, the old people, all of us. That's what he wants." And that's how the old people first began to sing these songs, the ones he taught them.

But Haruhi the Dancer and others rejected the songs, saying that the Indians should sing their own songs. "Those are not our songs. Our songs make us live. They give life to our hearts. We are forest people."

At a place on the Tiquié, ~Waribi made Bitter's flesh and Bitter's drink. The drink was pineapple wine, which came from

a plant the Star people had planted. The people drank the pineapple wine from little gourds, saying, "It's really Bitter's blood." In their drunken vision, they saw Bitter as a man. He came along and baptized them. That's what my father told me. It was really strange.

~Waribi brought green plantains and made little round flat cakes, which he roasted on the griddle for them to eat just like what the priests give out today. But they wouldn't eat them. Then he made rice, in tiny pieces and very white. "They must be tobacco seeds," they said, not knowing what they were. So ~Waribi took it away from them, saying, "They don't know me," and he gave them to the white people, so only they have rice now. He also offered them the tobacco with very big leaves, but because they didn't recognize it, he gave it to the white people too. The old people said that he hid everything away from us.

The people came with flowers of all colors—red, yellow, green. They came singing into the house carrying crosses of red hardwood. In the middle of the house was a big table for the wine. The man who led it all was a shaman, someone like me who knows and thinks. They sang with him as he stood by a cross over there. He wore a hatlike thing made from woven palm leaf, like a priest's hat. He was like a priest. He also wore a vestment made from a strip of white bark cloth pleated like our bark cloth dance aprons. And he had another longer strip on top, very fine and soft with designs painted on it. He didn't wear feathers—that's quite another thing, nothing to do with this. It was not like one of our dances. They did not dance; they just sat in the house and sang and put the flowers they brought in pots of water on the table, lots of them.

They did this at special times like the white people's fiestas. And if they failed to do it, it was very bad; there was lots of illness. They did not drink yagé; they just sang together. The shamans told them not to fight each other, not to be angry and not to argue. They preached what ~Waribi had taught them.

The leaders were shamans, and they gave people names from these dances: Pau from Saint Paul, Maria from Santa Maria, Christ, and Santiago, too. But then our fathers, especially the men of the ~Hadera, said again that we should not do this

because it was a White peoples' thing. "They are White people, beasts. We should not associate with them. It's all lies and nothing to do with us. We should do our own dances. We should dance in macaw feathers and paint," they said—they were really against it all.

Our people did not do their own dances in those days; they sang the ~Waribi songs instead. They were not shamans, and they didn't drink yagé either. They said yagé was horrible, like the white people do today. The other people, the Tatuyo and the people from downstream, said, "They must be white people, ~Waribi's children, that's why they sing Bitter's songs like the white people do." But the elders said, "We are people, too; we are not white people. The white people are the ones who know how to make axes, knives, and clothes. We are just imitating them."

Then, after that ~Yake ~Hido ~Baki [the ancestor of a Barasana clan], their elder brother, said, "You are of my group. You are real people. Why don't you do your own dances. You know how to dance, too." So he taught them the dances and gave them ancient tobacco, and then they too knew how to sing and dance, they who had once sung the Bitter songs. Our grandfather Sira the Dancer began to sing our own songs, the forest peoples' songs. He was the first to sing. They snuffed the old people's snuff, and they were shamans. Before that there were no chanters and no ~kubus, only people who did Bitter's songs. Today we are ~kubus, and we know our stuff. And that's how it is today, too—they sing their own songs. This is what my father told me they did. His fathers and grandfathers saw them do that, but he never saw it himself.

Pau's account adds some important details about the rites themselves, their aims, and the shaman's curing sessions that went with them. The songs were brought by emissaries from the Tukano and Bará. Each group had its own ceremonial center named after a saint—Pauro Buro after St. Paul for the Bará, Atuni Tukuro after St. Anthony for the Tatuyo—where people would gather bringing bunches of flowers. In addition to crosses, they made statues of *Sie* or *Oaki* (Jesus/God), which they set up in the house. The people

sang their songs both kneeling and walking around the statues, and in addition to priestlike robes, the shamans in charge wore crowns of thorns made from vines.

The aim of the rites, Pau says, was to bring white people and their goods back from the edge of the world, where ~Waribi had sent them when he created people (see Hugh-Jones 1988). At the time, the Barasana were in need of steel axes and machetes, clothes, and other white goods that were in short supply. There was conflict over these activities, because other shamans were using their powers to keep the white people at bay. To command the spirits of white people to come and to bring them down to earth, the shamans blew spells onto a book painted with red paint and into a gourd of beeswax. The gourd was the gourd now used in the men's cult of flutes and trumpets (see Hugh-Jones 1979). When people were created, the ancestors had been offered a better gourd that guaranteed them immortality and contained the power to make the manufactured goods. The Indians' ancestors had refused this gourd, which was then taken away by white people. When they blew spells on the gourd, white people arrived and talked with the people.

The rites also involved curing and protection from illness. To effect their cures, the shamans used bunches of leaves as rattles and went up into the sky on ladders or vines to call the ancient jaguar shamans who live alongside ~Waribi and the spirits of white people. Their abode is like a white people's town, with many houses and constant light. The old jaguar shamans would come down to earth dressed in jaguar-skin cloaks. While they were down below, the shaman remained up in the sky. When they had finished their cures, they would swap places once again. For protection from illness, the shamans also carried out baptisms using Bitter's special water. The shaman called Rumbling Jaguar is especially remembered as having cured illness in this manner, as having been involved in the Bitter Dance, and as having encouraged people to fight each other and to attack the white people. For this reason he came into conflict with Sira the Dancer, who advocated peace and a return to the Indians' own way of singing and dancing.

Discussion and Conclusion

Northwest Amazonian millenarian movements were more widespread than has hitherto been supposed. They spread progressively from

Arawakan groups living along the larger northern rivers and having relatively intense contact with colonial society, to more isolated Tukanoan groups living in headwater areas to the south and west. Although the cults shared a number of features in common, conformed to a common pattern, and formed part of a wider whole, significant variations have been correlated with different local socioeconomic circumstances and different degrees of external contact. Despite a common concern with salvation from the ravages of introduced disease and epidemics, the strong element of anticolonial protest, hostility to white people, and rejection of debt servitude manifest in the earlier movements is absent as they spread further south. In the headwater areas, where missionaries were absent and traders rarely ventured, the cults appeaar, in part at least, to have been directed toward obtaining exotic goods that were in short supply.

Another difference is the extent to which shamanic prophecy gave rise to genuinely popular movements. Allowance must be made for the difference between hostile opinions of missionaries and government officials expressed in colonial documents and the relatively benign and sympathetic accounts of present-day Indians. Even so, the leaders of the downstream movements achieved a lasting fame as master shamans and prophets and met with considerable success in generating widespread movements of revolt. Shaman-prophets in the upstream areas, although attracting a wide audience, also met a strong element of doubt and skepticism among ordinary people and outright hostility and jealousy from other shamans.[21] However, jealousy and tensions between rival shamans were not absent from the downstream movements either.

These differences are partly the product of two ends of a temporal sequence known to us through very different kinds of evidence. They are also correlated not only with different local socioeconomic circumstances and intensity of contact with outsiders but with variations in the pattern of dual shamanism in the two areas. There appears to be a difference in the relative importance of the ~kubu and payé as one moves from south to north or from Tukanoan- to Arawakan-speaking areas.

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21. The only case of a female prophet also comes from the upstream area. A further difference appears to have been a great emphasis on prophecy concerning the arrival of the Salesians and Montfortian missionaries among the upstream cult leaders.

In the Pirá-Paraná area to the south, no one is recognized as a jaguar shaman, and no shaman uses the payé's insignia of parica snuff and gourd rattles, but the ~kubu continues to flourish, apparently in his full traditional role. These ~kubus are quite dismissive of the supposed powers of jaguar shamans. They know about parica snuff and about shaking maracas or bunches of leaves, but they find these practices threatening and faintly ridiculous. They emphasize that they are not part of their own group's ancestral heritage but belong to groups further to the north and south. This superior but slightly fearful attitude is reflected in the fact that when ~kubus wish to run down their rivals' power and knowledge or to imply that they harbor evil intentions, they may refer to them as *yai* or "jaguar." Here, ~kubu is being opposed to *yai* as good is to bad. Barasana ~kubus do use techniques, such as water throwing and sucking out pathogenic objects, that are typically associated with the payé, so the division between the two types is not absolute. But they are adamant that real jaguar shamans are a thing of the past, the last ones having been active at the time of the millennial cults. I have no reason to doubt them because there is little evidence of a strong tradition of payés. And because missionaries did not arrive among the Barasana until the late sixties, the payé's disappearance can hardly be attributed to missionary activity.

Along with ~kubus, payés figure quite prominently in the ethnographic literature on the Tukano and Desana to the north of the Barasana, and jaguar shamanism appears to be especially prominent among the Cubeo, the group physically and culturally closest to the Arawakans further north. But these other Tukanoan groups also claim that the real payés have all but gone. Such claims may partly be a matter of nostalgia, but they also appear to reflect historical reality. Even in 1900, an old shaman was already complaining to Stradelli that "today there are no longer any payés, we are all curandeiros ('curers')" (Brüzzi 1962:278). Indians and anthropologists attribute the decline of the payé to suppression by Catholic missionaries—the highly visible collective seances of the payé were an easy target for the priests. Though also affected by contact, the discreet, solitary, and essentially verbal activities of the ~kubu were easier to conceal.

The tradition of jaguar shamanism is strongest and most developed in the Arawakan area. Here, despite a long history of Catholic missionary activity followed by evangelical missionaries who waged

an incessant and energetic campaign against shamanism, we find not only the fullest and most elaborate ethnographic records for this type but the survival of "jaguar people masters," the most powerful payés of all, right up to the present day. The relatively greater importance of the payé among the Arawakans is related to another difference, namely, their greater cultural emphasis on warfare and trading. Groups of Arawakans waged war on the Tukanoans and raided them for slaves right up to the time of the first messianic cults, and today they continue to supply them with all the manioc graters they use.

Throughout this chapter, I have tried to integrate what is known about messianism more fully with discussions of northwest Amazonian shamanism and to suggest why, despite much talk about them, there are so few powerful payés left in the area today. Part of the answer has, I think, already been given: jaguar shamans became especially prominent as the prophet-leaders of millennial cults. Among the Tukanoans these have subsided, and with them the true jaguar shaman has all but disappeared; among the Arawakans, where there is still strong messianic fervor, jaguar shamans maintain a stronger, if increasingly tenuous, presence. Although some prophets displayed some of the attributes of the ~kubu, the evidence suggests that they were above all payés. If my argument about the relatively greater weighting of the payé's role among the Arawakans is correct, this and their earlier more intense exposure to the pressures from colonial society would be consistent with the fact that millenialism evolved earlier and was more pronounced among them. But I think we can go further than this.

I have suggested above that rivalry, jealousy, and mutual accusations of sorcery are integral features of horizontal shamanism. I also suggested that such rivalry is a much less marked feature of relations between elderly, priestlike ~kubus whose position depends less on virtuoso performance and public acclaim than on wisdom acquired through years of learning and experience. That payés deal primarily with individuals and that their role relates more to the external relations of warfare and hunting also accords with this pattern. The payé is charged with horizontal, or foreign, relations. The ~kubu's main concern is with the reproduction of the group—the passage of generations through time—and with vertical relations between the living and the ancestors that are internal to the clan.

I suggest that the arrival of white people, their relations of alli-

ance and exploitation with different sectors of Indian society, their diseases, their wealth, their powers, and their beliefs exacerbated and increased certain contradictions already present in Indian social organization, one aspect of which was the relation between the payé and the ~kubu. Where sacred and secular powers are merged and limited to few, powerful elder men who are the foci of communal life and whose knowledge is closed, secret, and couched in an esoteric language, the presence of shaman-prophets attracting a large and mixed following and using hallucinogenic drugs for access to supernatural powers is likely to have been threatening.

The elder and more conservative ~kubus, whose inward-directed powers rest on received canon, would have been ill-adapted to cope with the threat posed by white people. Initially, the balance would have been tipped in favor of the more flexible and individualistic payés, who were charged with dealing with outside forces. Using elements of folk Catholicism appropriated and reinterpreted for their own ends, the prophets formulated an effective ritual response and orchestrated collective opposition to the colonial powers.

Millenial cults, armed resistance, and retreat into isolated headwater zones played important, but temporary, roles in the survival of northwest Amazonian Indians. In most of the Tukanoan area, the arrival of permanent Catholic missions brought a certain amount of protection, but this protection had its price—the missions were opposed to shamanism and other manifestations of Indian religion. This opposition appears to have resulted in a decline in the role and significance of the payé. In the areas exposed to direct missionary presence, the ancestor cults were abandoned, and the ~kubu, taking on some of the functions of the payé but with a much reduced role, effectively went underground. What was once shared between the ~kubu and the payé now appears to be shared between the ~kubu and the Catholic priest. In the more isolated areas, the ~kubu has maintained his position. He coexists with younger men who he may dismiss as ineffective payés, but some of whom he knows will be the ~kubus of tomorrow.

Among the Arawakans, where the payés were stronger, a more active millennial tradition persisted. The arrival of the evangelists, with their apocalyptic preaching and hostility to both priests and traders, triggered a new millenarian movement of mass conversion to Protestantism led by converts. Journet suggests that Arawakan

evangelism "should be considered as a complex form of acculturation, favouring the return to traditional moral values within a framework borrowed from the dominant culture" (1988:35). One aspect of this is a displacement of the payés by a new form of religious leadership that, though hostile to all forms of shamanism, appears to be a transformation of the role of chant-owner. The new religious leaders are the pastors, whose authority is founded on their ability to read biblical texts, and who also act as secular leaders or chiefs.

Placing shamanism within a wider structural, regional, and historical frame reveals insights that are not apparent when it is seen simply as a traditional practice in an isolated, local context. The role of the shaman is sometimes defined in contradistinction to the priest or chief. Like the relation between their Bororo equivalents, the relation between the payé and the ~kubu is complementary and linked with antithetical cosmological and sociological principles. But this relation also contains the potential for rivalry and tension. How these contradictions work out in practice depends on the particular historical circumstances of the groups involved, their internal relations and cultural biases, and their relations with the external forces that impinge on them.

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